1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

II. SOCIAL LIFE

Government—Property

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin.

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (te.upe"yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa"ci (see below).

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1]

> Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

> Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

881 galo'e he treated as synonymous terms, but the latter is almost certainly dis-
[178] tinct in origin, though fused in recent practice. According to Jack, the t'ew'we is truly Washo, the galo'e originally Paviotso.

A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut.
[785] She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must
[224] not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting
881 hungry in later life; if she ate, she would die young and would neither grow
574 properly nor get along well.
535 After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who
[481] gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick
[778] (ba'du tso'hu, from tso'hu, stick; ba'du, a species of bush) about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life. After the ceremony, her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock;[1] and when she is somewhat older, her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning.[2] An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness.
[434] A giving away of presents (hiyemal'yeki) takes place in the girl's honor; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk.

Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was compared to a fiddler at a white
[532] people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless: "he'"wine, ho'wi'ne; he'wi'ne, ho'wi'na; he'"wine, ho'wi'na." In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs, but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes
● [624] women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step, with the right foot dragged
[583] after. The dancers interlocked fingers. If a young man asks the adolescent to dance the t'ew'we with him and she consents, they get married.

841 According to Dave, subsequent menses were not observed at all. Jack de-
535 clared that a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses; but
[262] the third time, the most taboo, which all informants agree holds for one month after the first menses, is no longer obligatory.

881 After the dance, the girl goes out to swim early in the morning (Jack), or

[1] According to Bill, not the father but a boy hired for the purpose carried the stick up and left it leaning against a tree. It was to make the girl strong.

[2] Bill recollected dances that had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-nights ceremony was normal.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

CEREMONIALISM

SWEAT LODGE

515 Dave said the Washo never sweated, but he had seen the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake sweating by pouring water on rocks,—in order to reduce their fat, a friend from there had told Dave. Notwithstanding this denial, sweating (titɔ'etu'ive) was a Washo practice, though of peculiar type and restricted to one special occasion. Sometimes a man who had been hunting deer in vain would build a small booth, make a charcoal fire there, enter, and sweat. No rocks were heated, and there was no attempt to produce vapor. After sweating, the hunter went to the river and took a swim. On the following day he would see a deer. The booth was called pɔha"'tsi, t'a'ɣa, little house; whether this is a specific name for the institution, is not clear. Bill gave another term, a'ɣalita kumto'ca.

Bill, whose father had sweated as a deer hunter, said that before jumping into the creek the sweater put medicine on his head and rubbed it into his hair.

My information thus contradicts Kroeber's,* who records—though as a probably recent intrusion—the Plains Indian type of skin- or mat-covered booth heated by steam.

ANTELOPE CHARMING

624 The Antelope chief (ai'yas kumomli") was distinct from the tribal chief and the leaders of the deer hunt and jack-rabbit hunt, respectively. He alone got his power by dreaming, that is, was a shaman (Dave). No Antelope chief was living in 1926, so the following statement refers wholly to the past. Jack had seen one Antelope chief, but even in his youth antelope had become scarce.

The Antelope chief sees some antelope in a dream. He reflects about it and goes to the place dreamt about in the mountains. He sees two or three head, then he knows his dream is true. He begins to talk to them. He does not tell anyone as yet, but keeps his own counsel and studies the matter himself. He continues dreaming three or four times. Then he begins talking to the antelope, taking a pipe. He wants to see what he can do. He looks at the antelope, he lets them see him walking alongside of them; they do not run away. He does this two or three times. Soon he tells the people to come together and says, "My people, I have dreamt truly or falsely, I don't know which. In the place I dreamt of last night there were forty antelope banded together. If I dreamt truly, you'll see them there this morning." He sends two boys to the place as scouts. They look for game and see ten or fifteen head feeding there together. The boys do not let the antelope see them. They go back and tell the chief, "Your dream is true, we saw a herd right there." That evening he studies the matter again while in bed. He dreams again and tells his people, "Well, I dreamt last night, I dreamt right before. I dreamt of two antelope last night, you fellows drove them into the corral, we all killed them and had something to eat." The old people answer: "Yes, if you dreamt right, we'll have meat, we'll try tomorrow to go after them."

* Kroeber, Handbook, 872.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

The corral (mo'dap) is about an acre in size, with a chute leading to the entrance. Sagebrush is piled so high that the antelope cannot jump out. The men go to drive the antelope in. The chief stands just back of the corral, smoking his pipe. He says, "I'll stay home behind the corral. If I dreamt right, you'll drive them in and we'll kill them. If they get scared at you fellows, we can't help it; but I think we'll kill them easily in the corral." When the antelope are near, he says to the beasts, "Don't get scared, come on easily now, don't get discouraged, listen to my words. We are making a home for you, you have come a great way." The antelope stop and look toward him. They are not afraid at all, but keep quiet, like sheep driven into a pen. Instead of scattering, they come into the sagebrush pen. He says to the people, "When I tell you, then is the time to shout." When all are in the pen, the people close up, and the chief bids them commence killing. They use their bows and arrows, and some hit the game over the head with clubs. The chief says, "My people, look at them, kill the biggest in the whole herd, I'll have that one." They kill it and give it to the chief. Of the rest, three or four men will share one animal. They like it, cut up the meat, cook and eat it right there. First the chief says, "I dreamt antelope for you, I got the best one, I am satisfied." Nobody eats while he is speaking. Then they divide the spoils, pack the game home, and have plenty that night. The corral is left standing.

Dave gave the following texts of speeches delivered by the Antelope chief to the game and hunters respectively:

(a)

kaiv'kaow ol'yes, kshamo'moyam, kepi''esh, kapa''esh ma'esis. kaiv'kaov'es, ma'esi kshe'le, istamais''ma . . . kais'kta."

(Do not get scared, antelope, come easily, creep up, come right into your home. Don't be afraid. We made your home, listen to me . . . don't get scared of anybody.)

(b)

wa'dis kaya'tuka'es, kaya'tuk tomomi i'ke il'eal. wi'kis k'doc kimo'kayaktok i'ke ka'es, t'aiyess ga'mayess. mi'le ka''ma tomi'ke. gaya'es a''al. kak tikumes''sis i'ke mikis a''esiya. kiki''het a'esm k'vieke tiya'mis. i'ke isyaJoye's nake' akaaJis's kelliki ka'le wadiw'a''les. i'ke mi''ya, i'ke ka'sis kutisa'es kai'v''eya untamais'e kelliki ka'sis.

(Now begin killing, kill the biggest buck, that give to me. That's all I tell you. Kill for yourselves, that have for your own meat. Guts, however, do not throw away, eat everything. Wash off the guts. Thus I dreamt, that I have told you all. This good thing that way I tell you. There is no one else who could tell you about this today. This is good for you. If I were dead, from no one else here you would be able to hear this, I think, if I were dead.)

" This last word is spoken when all the antelope get into the pen.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [171] Acorns (ma'law) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called magi"gala by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [415] [251] [252] [415] Pine nuts (t'a"gum) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a't'abi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] [756] Antelope, deer (mendi"wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting" and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

* Op. cit., 12.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out." As my data have it, the "rabbit chief" is distinct from the organizer of the deer hunt and, most emphatically, from the antelope charmer. Jack said a "rabbit boss" (pʌT'ɛ.n tɛ.xpɛ"yu) possibly inherited his office from his father, whereas Dave made him a people's appointee.

Dave described the rabbit hunt as follows: The rabbit chief, who was not identical with the political headman, set the time for the drive. People met with bows and arrows. Possibly 15 men had nets, which they united into an enclosure about 200 yards long and 4 feet in height, held by sticks 6 or 7 feet apart." The line was straight except at the ends, where it was crooked. About 200 Washo, the "boss" among them, joined in the drive, scaring their quarry. An old man with a boy stayed at one end of the net, which Dave compared to the wire fence of a chicken coop. Some people shot the game with bow and arrow. The rabbits thought they were escaping and rushed into the net, where most of them were caught. The boy would get up and kill them with a stick. The drivers killed most of the rabbits, each possibly 3 or 4 apiece, with a total kill of 400 to 500 a day. On the following day the hunters went in another direction, perhaps 6 miles away. When heavily loaded, they went home. Rabbits, when caught, were hit on the head with a club. (Cf. Jack's statement below.) Finally the rabbit chief said, "We stop today, we have all we want today. Let us go home." Then they removed the hide and the women gutted the animals. The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into string. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them for a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty-five strings made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2½ inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering.

A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket. Whatever flesh was left over was hung up in the shade and dried. The Washo would boil jack-rabbit flesh and pine-nut soup at the same time, using willow baskets for the soup. Jack said that from 25 to 30 men with possibly 10 or 15 nets (ti"gɛ) engaged in a rabbit chase. Several nets were arranged in a circle and the rabbits were driven into them. They were not clubbed to death, but killed with bow and arrow.

Other species added to the food supply. Porcupine (u"uwut) were eaten. Skunk (tupi"wi), one informant said, were never eaten; but Dave said they were once killed with smoke in a hole by his father-in-law, who boiled the flesh and liked it. The Washo boiled grasshoppers (paky'tɛmu) in baskets, and also cooked locusts (ta"tak) in the ground and dried them. A long-legged insect called tɛ'lɛm also served as food.

[a] Barrett gives the dimensions as some 300 feet and 24 to 30 inches, with a mesh about 3 inches square and stakes at 10-foot intervals.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Each village or unit is presided over by an hereditary chief, called teûbé'yû, whose duties are to call his people together for ceremonies, feasts, and other special purposes, and to adjudicate disputes. In former times this office passed in the direct male line to the eldest son. More recently the office has been filled, to some extent at least, by selection of the most likely individual as a chief's successor regardless of relationship.

It is said that there is but one other official, the "rabbit boss" or hunting chief. This office is discussed in speaking of the rabbit hunt.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

No special customs concerning birth were noted except that the father usually gives presents to anyone to whom he sees fit. On the other hand no presents are given by others to the father, mother or to the new born babe.

In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

No special ceremony was required for marriage, according to informants. Even an exchange of presents was optional.

Upon death, cremation was formerly practiced. Nowadays the body is buried. There is no stated period of mourning, but there is an annual mourning ceremony, or "cry," accompanied by a big feast.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.

The men formerly wore a clout and belt, and had, when necessary for warmth, or when desired for adornment, a buckskin or other skin blanket thrown over the upper part of the body. Informants state that there was no shirt or coat-like garment worn by the men.

The women, on the other hand, wore a sinew-sewed waist and a separate skirt, both of buckskin. The most universal and persist-

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

224 taut, and the lower edge of the net just touched the ground. As the rabbit ran into the almost invisible net it gave somewhat, sagged, and the frightened animal was hopelessly entangled. Men were concealed at intervals along the net, and the one nearest to the ensnared rabbit ran over, killed it by squeezing its temples, [177] and then disentangled it from the net. Under no consideration should a rabbit be struck while in the net, as the blow might break one of the strands, and would surely "produce bad luck for the hunters."

224 624 [428] So important was the rabbit to the Washo that it required a special, hereditary official, the only official other than the chief himself. His duty was to supervise all communal hunting, but especially that of rabbits, and he was called "rabbit boss", pe"leu lewe ti'yeli, literally, "rabbit for great (man)." The informant in this case said that the term ti'yeli could not be translated as chief, but that it signified simply a man of marked distinction and importance. This "rabbit boss" had no authority over single hunters, who were privileged to hunt with bow and arrow whenever they pleased. However, no organized hunt or drive could be [226] carried on without his sanction. While control of the rabbit drive and hunting in general was the principal duty of this official, he also regulated fishing. He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out.

411 224 The bow and arrow, as above mentioned, were sometimes used in hunting rabbits and formed the chief weapon used for all mammals. For small mammals a headless arrow (plate VI, fig. 7) was ordinarily used, while for deer and other large mammals an arrow (plate VI, figs. 3-6) with an obsidian or other head was employed. [177] Firearms have now almost completely superseded these primitive weapons.

226 [262] As above stated, fish form a very important part of the Washo food supply. Certain species are taken with dip nets (ti'gic), especially during their spawning season, while others, such as the larger lake trout, are taken with hook and line.

1 [see cat. 116, p. 39 - - An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

ketry. In having a considerable number of geometric patterns bearing descriptive names, accompanied by modifying terms, they also resemble certain tribes of the California area. 171

The similarities of the Washo culture to that of the Great Basin region to the east, on the other hand, are very strikingly shown in the fact that the foods are almost identical, and in that very similar methods are employed in securing the same. Especially is this the case in certain nets used in fishing and rabbit hunting, and in the methods employed in handling the piñon nut and other vegetal foods. The twined basketry of the Washo resembles very closely in many respects that of the Great Basin culture, and certain stone implements, particularly the metate and muller, are also very similar to those used in that area.

While otherwise the social organization of the Washo appears to have been in aboriginal times very simple, the absolute control exercised by the "rabbit boss," or hunting chief, over all matters pertaining to communal hunting and fishing, presents a very interesting and peculiar feature of the Washo culture. 621. 624 ●

It will thus be seen that the Washo culture has certain strong affinities with that of the California area and also with that of the Great Basin area, but that in general it is somewhat more closely allied to the latter than to the former. This is but natural on account of the situation of the Washo, which is largely within the Great Basin, and on account of the facility of communication and easy interchange of culture between them and the several Great Basin tribes immediately to the east, particularly those about Walker lake and in the lower Carson valley. This influence of the tribes to the east was accentuated by the relative difficulty of interchange with the California tribes living on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada, who on account of the deep snows of winter were accessible to the Washo only during a part of the year, and with whom communication was difficult at all times on account of this rugged mountain barrier. 171 177

Milwaukee, Wisconsin,
May 10, 191[illegible]

[pp. 26 and 27 are blank]

[P 394, A]

DREAMS AND DREAMERS

(1944)

991
[758] [624] Mentioned almost as frequently as doctors are dreamers, whom the Washo view as distinct from shamans. The so-called antelope shaman and rabbit bone fall into this category rather than that of doctor.

Dreamers were gifted with a power to foretell special classes of events in dreams. All Washo believe dreams are likely to foretell the future, and they are alert to find meanings in any dreams they have. Certain persons, those thought of as "dreamers," are reported to have special gifts of this nature.

[828] There are apparently no dreamers among the Washo today, in the sense that the term was used in times past. That is, no one is especially singled out as having infallible dreams foretelling certain classes of events. It may be that the breakdown of the band structure, which was related to economic exploitative activity, in effect, forced everyone to dream for himself. In the past, dreamers were particularly important in setting the time and place for activities which were carried out by large groups, such as hunting, fishing, pine-nut gathering, and war. With the disappearance of the last semisemadic bands in the middle 1930's, as well as with the reduced importance of hunting and fishing as group activities, persons having dreams which directed group actions were no longer useful. Today, dreams appear to occur to a number of individuals, and those felt to be of social significance usually deal with catastrophe or other foreboding subjects. The following stories were told to me by the widow under the shadow of witchcraft. When I asked her if she thought any of her friends would tell me their dreams, she replied: "No I don't think so Washo would tell you their dreams. But I'm not superstitious about them things and I'll tell you these two dreams I had."

"One summer I was up at the Lake [Tahoe] with my husband and I had a dream that the gambling house at Dresslerville [a structure known officially as the community center] was on fire. There was kids inside and they was screaming but there wasn't no water. I saw the men all around with buckets but they couldn't do nothing because there wasn't no water. I told my husband about the dream the next morning and he said I should take a bath and pray. That's what we do to keep a bad dream from happening."

The following winter the community center did in fact burn down. A young Indian in a rage after having an argument with his father hurled a bottle of kerosene against a wood stove. The resulting fire could not be extinguished because the Dresslerville pump was not working. Whether the dream was really a prophecy after the fact I do not know. It is significant in any case that the prophecy appeared in the form of a dream. My informant's second dream foretold the violent death of a young Indian woman. The prophecy came true two years later.

Her statement that other Washo would be reluctant to discuss their dreams was all too true, confirming the importance that dreams play in their daily lives. A number of tangential remarks suggest that the belief that dreams confer advance knowledge of the future and that

224 southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small
(136) herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One informant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories
(177) about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-
(538) law who remembered the antelope songs.
(533) Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted that he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

(787) The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the
● (624) presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as
(791) leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered to be magical by this informant who said:

> "There was really no corral. Maybe just a few piles of brush. The people just danced around and sang, and that kept them antelope there like they was hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but we want you for fine food;' or something like that. I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

(763) This informant was certain that the Washo did not
(186) expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with the culture element distribution lists presented by
(114) Stewart, which reported some of the traits usually considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 Rabbits (93-96).--The pursuit of the jack rabbit
185 appears to have been changing in its importance dur-
178 ing the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that
(237) most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady de-
(484) cline in the number of deer. All informants agree that in their own youth trips to California after deer were
(136) necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope
224 complex to the rabbit hunt.
(171) Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken from informants in their seventies in 1936, make no
(535) mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive.
224 Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied.
624 There was, however, a special leader who directed the hunt. In later times these men were credited with
787 dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack
791 Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

[F.380, 8]

791 224 624 787 [782] 224 178 [464] 624 224 178 [182] [177] 224 535

dreamers. This power made him extremely influential among the Washo, and his descendants are considered among the claimants for the "chieftainship." There appear to have been formalized prayers which were said before the hunt by a man with power over rabbits.

Today, rabbit hunts are invariably held on Sunday. In the words of one informant: "Nowadays anybody can just say 'Let's have a hunt this Sunday.' They have to hunt on Sunday because most of the men have jobs during the week."

The disintegration of the ritualized aspects of rabbit driving is not complete, however, and many Washo prefer to hunt with a certain man who lives in the Indian colony at Carson City. While no one will openly claim that he has supernatural power, it seems clear that his presence is important to other Indians. His role is that of leader or captain who superintends the order and discipline of the line of hunters who today sweep a wide area, armed with shotguns. D'Azevedo, who was fortunate enough to take part in a hunt in 1955, states that prior to the hunt this man withdrew from the group. When he asked what the leader was doing he met evasion, and he concluded that perhaps the man was praying. In the period covered by the memory of my oldest informants, dances were often staged nightly during the rabbit drives. The dancing is invariably described as "just for fun" and probably was more social than religious, but such dancing appears to have been part of other ceremonial or semiceremonial occasions such as the girls' dances, first-fish ceremonies and the pine-nut dances. It seems clear that whatever tendency there was to shift the ritualized aspects of antelope hunting to rabbit drives has been stemmed by a growing dependence of the Washo on wage labor which precludes their response to dream-inspired hunts.

224 [262]

Bear (296, 2958-2961).—Bear hunting appears never to have been a subsistence activity among the Washo. Many informants stoutly deny that bear meat was ever eaten, although bear were hunted. No Washo ever gave a direct answer to the question of why they hunted bear if they didn't eat the meat. Others stated that the bear might be eaten in extreme starvation conditions but was never eaten regularly.

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On the other hand, almost all Washo men were able to describe in detail the method of hunting and they obviously enjoyed telling bear-hunting stories. The following story told to me by one of the oldest men in Dresslerville, who claims it was told to him by a very old man, is consistent with the stories told by other informants.

> "There was hardly any Washo who kill bear. But I know this much . . . the man who went in there and did it tells me . . . bears have their own home in the rocks . . . a hole going in the rocks. Go in there naked with a knife or arrow in one hand and burning pitch in other . . . light scares him out [the bear], then other men shoot the bear in the mouth with poison arrow [see deer hunting for reference to poison] . . . get sick for four or five days, maybe a week. Then the man goes back in. Hardly any Indians could do this."[10]

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[787] [791]

[10] This statement was made to point out to me that in other times only special people, inspired by dreams, would have suggested a rabbit hunt.

[10] This kind of a statement was common and whenever it was made suggestions of special power were made explicit later in the conversation, or were implied by the attitude of the informant.

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin. 285 358 171

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal. 291 [177]

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *peleu-lowe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary. 224 [624]

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon. 41 [171]

Piñon nuts, *tayum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *boleyu*. 262 [252] [439] 412 [415]

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *Aŭbo*. 342 [171]

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house, it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement. 343 177 [231] [668]

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *dayalimí;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear. 344

?/Food 0-8 (1982-1987)1990 NTSU Wash NTSU
[P 251.A]

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a load of fish back to the valley to help feed those who had been left behind. In the fall, groups of Washo would travel into California to gather acorns. These trips frequently took them as far west as Placerville. The Washo then returned to the Pine Nut Mountains for the pine-nut season. In the years when there was no crop of pine nuts, a family might choose to winter at Lake Tahoe or in one of the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada.

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The Washo no longer lead a migratory life. The shores of Lake Tahoe are now privately owned, and the Washo may not fish there. They still obtain acorns from California, but they no longer have to travel in groups for protection. The trip takes only a day or two in an automobile and may be made by an individual or a single family. The only noteworthy survival of the old seasonal migrations is the fall trip to the Pine Nut Mountains to hunt deer and gather pine nuts. Many families, especially those headed by older people, still spend a month or longer in the Pine Nut Mountains.

ECONOMIC LIFE

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The major game animals were deer, antelope, and rabbits. Deer could be hunted individually or communally. The leader of the communal deer hunt was a secular officer; that is, he did not derive his authority from dreams (Lowie, 1939, p. 336). He divided the hunting party into two groups. One group built fires and drove the deer toward the other hunters who were lying in ambush with bow and arrow. The captured deer were divided among all who participated in the hunt. Deer provided, in addition to food, hides for clothes and sinews for use in the manufacture of bows and arrows.

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Deer could be hunted by small parties of four or five men. When pursued, deer follow a certain route; and as the Indians knew which way the animals would go, some of them chased the deer while others took a short cut and lay in wait. Disguises consisting of the horns and hide of a deer were sometimes used to approach a herd of deer and lure them close to a group of concealed hunters (Curtis, 1926, pp. 94-95).

Deer remain a fairly important item of food for the modern Washo. Today deer are hunted by individuals armed with rifles; the old, cooperative methods of deer hunting are no longer practiced.

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Antelope were hunted by a technique known as antelope charming. The leader of the antelope hunt received his power through dreams. He communicated with the animals in his dreams and told them not to be afraid of him. When antelope were sighted, the Washo built a corral of sagebrush. The antelope charmer approached the herd and talked to them, gradually leading them into the corral. This was accompanied by a slow drive by the rest of the Indians. Once the antelope were inside the corral, the Washo rushed upon them and killed them with clubs and bows and arrows. The animals were divided among all the hunters. This method of hunting must have disappeared very early, for no antelope chief was living in 1926 (Lowie, 1939, p. 336).

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Rabbits were hunted by a communal drive under the leadership of a secular rabbit chief. This officer was distinct from both the leader of the deer hunt and the antelope charmer. According to Barrett (1917, p. 12), he was a hereditary officer; according to Lowie (1939,

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?:Pmod B-8 (1902-1907)1980 NT30 Washo NT30
[P 361,8]

p. 308), an elected official. As many as 300 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 13). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1924, p. 93). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal cooperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from cooperative to individual activity.

7156 The word also denotes the implements used in curing.
[192] A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites
765 were the same each night. For the first three nights,
756 the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wegeldya, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some
756 other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains
178 alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism
448 will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture
756 of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them.
[178] The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine, and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

361 Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303).
622 Each settlement was politically independent. Washo
[114] informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the
624 Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special
[224] headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit
[787] hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is
178 more complex. They have adopted a written constitu-
623 tion and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new com-
642 plexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters,
[578] the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective
[987] council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

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211 Warfare seems to have been waged under the leader-
622 ship of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his
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subsequently patrilocal, 8 neolocal, and 1 matrilocal. I have counted a single marriage more than once if the couple shifted residence more than once. For example, if a couple lived for two years with the wife's parents, then for some time with the husband's family, and finally by themselves, they were counted as initially matrilocal and subsequently patrilocal and neolocal. Of the first marriages not initially matrilocal, 11 were patrilocal, 10 matrilocal (permanently and not just initially), and 9 neolocal.

The various kinds of residence arrangements are scattered randomly with respect to the age of informants. This is a critical point, for the neolocal marriages were not specifically reported by the earlier investigators. Although Lowie says that a couple moved after the death of the wife's parents, he does not specify the new location of the couple. Yet the fact that neolocal marriages occur as frequently among older people as among younger indicates that they are not a recent innovation.

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Data on 11 second and subsequent marriages are contained in the genealogies and life histories. Three of these were initially matrilocal; and of these, 1 was subsequently patrilocal and 2 neolocal. Of the second marriages not initially matrilocal, 3 were patrilocal, 4 matrilocal, and 5 neolocal. As was true of first marriages, the various kinds of residence arrangements of second and subsequent marriages were distributed randomly with respect to the age of informants.

To trace the history of a number of Washo marriages, as has been done above, describing them as patrilocal or matrilocal or neolocal without regard for the length of time spent under the various rules, gives a somewhat distorted picture of Washo residence, for it emphasizes unduly the "neolocal" residences. Actually, almost all couples live near their parents or other close relatives the greater part of their lives. Occasionally, a family may live for a few years with no close relatives near by. For this reason some marriages have been classed as neolocal. In the matter of residence rules, the normative statements of Lowie's, Curtis', and my informants give a better picture of the essential nature of Washo residence than a statistical count. Residence may best be described as bilocal. There is no evidence that the rule of residence was different in prewhite times.

DESCENT AND INHERITANCE

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Descent was basically bilateral. Personal property was not inherited, for it had to be destroyed at death. Pine-nut picking rights descended bilaterally. A person also had picking rights on his spouse's land, but these rights were terminated at the death of the spouse. Certain offices may have descended from father to son. Barrett (1917, p. 9) says that each village had a hereditary chief. In former times, the office passed from father to the eldest son; more recently, he says, the office was filled by the selection of the most appropriate individual regardless of relationship. Barrett also states that the rabbit chief was a hereditary official, but this is disputed by Lowie. Neither shamans nor antelope charmers inherited their positions.

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The aboriginal Washo system of inheritance fits well with the American bilateral system and has changed only slightly since the coming of the whites. One change is that people can now dispose of their property by a will. This is particularly important with regard to in-

Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teŭbčýš (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teŭbčýš for all the Washo; but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teŭbčýš) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

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Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

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(1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying off. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.

The Pinenut Dance

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One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.

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Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo. The pinenut dance (gunsalgai) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

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The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to take a bath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

Thus the area in which the Washo lived was somewhat more varied than the territories of other groups, encompassing four life zones. This contrasted to the condition of the Paiute as a whole, where some bands existed in relative luxury for gatherers, and others occupied extremely inhospitable areas. The Washo, as a whole, enjoyed a fairly favorable area for hunting and gathering. In aboriginal times there seems to have been little effort to drive other groups out of the area when they entered it to hunt or gather, suggesting that the Washo felt they were amid plenty and that added exploitation would not deprive them. This does not hold for their view of the pinenut areas they utilized. They defended these with vigor, as they also defended fishing sites. There appears to have been a sufficient supply of nuts to permit very large gatherings in the fall at the beginning of the harvest season.

As with the Paiute, the Washo family appears to have been the primary unit of social organization. Families combined into bands that may or may not have had more permanence of membership than did those of the Paiute. Informants insist that families decided the course of their yearly movement independent of any band activities, either joining other bands or going on hunting and gathering treks -- often as far as the Pacific coast -- by themselves.

Band leaders had little, if any, more authority than did their counterparts among the Paiute. When bands gathered for antelope or rabbit hunting a shaman or rabbit boss took charge of the actual hunting operation as was true elsewhere in the Basin. Mountain sheep and mule deer were hunted in small informal groups, the latter occasionally in communal hunts.

The Washo recognized different areas within their territory but to what degree people or bands remained within these territories is not known. Lowie (1939, 301-52) sees incipient moiety formation in this division, but its only expression appears to have been the selection of members of teams to play games during the annual pinenut festival. Certain groups living in the mountains near what is today Woodfords were viewed by other Washo as "crazy," i.e., particularly brave, unpredictable and fierce. This was because, according to informants, these people had a great deal of association with California tribes (Downs, 1961b). The Woodfords group appears to have served traditionally as Washo "shock troops," being called upon for help whenever it was necessary to fight neighboring Indians. Freed (1960, 353) reports that a leader could assemble fighting men by sending a knotted deerhide string to his supporters. My own informants corroborated this but made it clear that no one was compelled to respond. There is no record of interband hostility even to the degree mentioned above for the Paiute.

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: 114—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	K1	K2	Ma	Yo	Yo	Pa	Ma	pi	Ba	Ig	Wi	Ki	pi	
2143. Temporary large organization: for annual dance	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	NWA 571
2144. For rabbit drive	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2145. For antelope drive	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2147. For mud-hen (or duck) drive	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2148. For pine-nut trip	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	
Chiefs (wihoawi or wimawi)															
2149. Head chief (tuvia-wimawi) (leader of armed and localized group)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	NWA 622
2150. Patrilineal succession	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2151. Community approval required	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2152. Chief's assistant	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2153. Chief's announcer (mavimaomi)	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[624]
2154. Chief's messenger	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2155. Special chief: for dance (nagwa wimawi)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2156. For rabbit drive (kamawimawi)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2157. For antelope drive (tumawimawi)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2158. For mud-hen (or duck) drive (naipawimawi)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2159. For fishing	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2160. For hunting generally	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2161. For pine-nut trip	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2162. Village chief	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
PROPERTY															
2163. Band owned hunting territory	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	NWA 621
2163a. Band owned valley in which lived	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2164. Band owned pine-nut territory	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	423
2164a. Individuals owned pine-nut territory	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	
2167. Band owned fishing streams	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2168. Disputes settled by fight	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2169. Family owned seed plots	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2170. Family owned fishing place	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2171. Chattels all privately owned	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2172. All destroyed at death	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2173. Eagle carries privately owned	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2173a. Cold springs public	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2173b. Hot springs public	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
WARFARE															
2174. Raids only	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	NWA 721
2174a. Protection only	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2175. Warfare rare	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2176. War ritual	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2177. Captives	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NWA 727
BIRTH CUSTOMS															
2178. Baleahin, stuffed, for chara (see, gambling)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	NA 778
2179. Special house for childbirth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	952
2179a. Dwelling-like	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2180. Domed willow house	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2180a. Regular house	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	NWA 814
2181. Confinement (no. of days): 22	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2181a. 30 ("month")	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2182. Ground warmed	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2183. Ground covered with grass, bark	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	

[p. 407]